HUMAN EVENTS

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Breakup of Modern Republicanism: By this time, few members of Congress doubt that Sherman Adams, chief of Modern Republicanism and its principal hatchet man, will resign. What has clinched the tacit high-level decision to oust him is less the fact that he is a political liability, than the unpleasant reality that he is a bureaucratic liability—something little realized throughout the country and hushed up as a subject of conversation by White House circles.

Members of Congress, particularly Republicans, now know (and talk much about it) that "Sherm" cannot just take down the phone and call members on the Hill to pressure them for this or that piece of legislation. His formerly authoritative voice now carries little weight, since he has been discredited by the Goldfine revelations.

Similarly, heads of Government agencies and departments no longer heed a message from the controversial Assistant to the President. With a weather eye to possible future investigations, the bureaucrats prefer not to be on the record as having been swayed by the recommendations of such a man as Adams. And that goes also for the authority of the rest of the White House staff. In short, what has happened has been a stalling of the Executive machinery of Government. So: Sherm must go.

HUMAN EVENTS *can reveal, from reliable sources, that the President is already considering a replacement. A secret chapter of his quest for a suitable man provides an interesting picture: The President disclosed one candidate (suggested, it seems, by Paul Hoffman), during his weekly conference with GOP leaders of Congress. He broached the name of UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., as Adams' possible successor. The congressional leaders reacted strongly and adversely. They said that Lodge would prove a most unpopular representative of the White House in dealing with both Republicans and Democrats in Congress.*

Last week, this column reported Lodge to be the principal top-level advocate of further appeasement of Soviet Russia, as well as the candidate of the "liberals" to succeed the anti-appeasement Secretary of State Dulles. Lodge has been bypassing Dulles in private talks with the President, urging appeasement moves in the foreign field. "The new Stassen" is the way they describe Lodge in State Department circles.

● Another piece of evidence that Adams has become an "untouchable" appears in the fact that his name was dropped from the list of members of the President's party which visited Canada last week. As reported by HUMAN EVENTS for June 16, 1958, the eventual naming of Adams as Ambassador to Canada was considered seriously in White House circles in recent months. Apparently, diplomatic correspondents say, such an appointment of Adams takes on risky aspects today.

Does this shifting pattern of prestige signify a crumbling of Modern Republicanism? Many on Capitol Hill think so and cite the following hitherto unpublicized cases in point:

(1) A group of Eastern Republicans in the House, panicked by popular disgust at Adams' performance, has been trying to hold a private meeting to consider ways and means of remedying the dismal political situation. Significant of their attitude was the fact that these "middle-of-the-road" Congressmen asked as honor guest of the meeting none other than General Douglas MacArthur. (The General declined.)

(2) The "liberal" Citizens for Eisenhower group, which did much to further Modern Republicanism in its initial phases, has just handed over its list of financial contributors to the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, headed by conservative Representative Richard Simpson (R.-Pa.), the coming key man of Republicans in the House.

No strings were attached by the Citizens for Ike to this action. Many House members interpret this as a "surrender" by the principal Modern Republican organization to the regular GOP conservatives.

● A final footnote on the life and times of Modern Republicanism today is the confused state of affairs in New York. Walter Trohan reported in the Chicago *Tribune* last week that Vice President Nixon recently held a private gathering of GOP leaders at his house to explore the possibility of drafting former Governor Thomas E. Dewey to run this fall for Senator from New York. Meanwhile adverse GOP reaction to the New York gubernatorial candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller grows, as the far-left *New York Post* editorially expresses its enthusiastic support of his bid for the nomination. (Washingtonians recall that Rockefeller was the protegé of the sinister Harry Hopkins, for many years Franklin D. Roosevelt's leftist White House adviser.)

Republican comments on the possible race of Dewey for the Senatorial seat are mixed. Taft Republicans still don't trust Dewey. Some Senators suggest, however, that "if we got Tom away from New York down here in the Senate club, perhaps we could make an honest Republican out of him."

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Meanwhile, there come reports that several Modern Republicans in private conversations have begun talking like Taft Republicans. Little straws in the wind like this multiply day by day. And Capitol Hill observers interpret them as definite indications of the disintegration of the forces of Modern Republicanism.

Un-American Activities: The perennial attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee continues unabated, with various proposals for abolishing the Committee or curtailing its activities emanating from the usual "liberal" sources. Pushed recently has been a proposal that the Committee be made a House Judiciary subcommittee, a move which would rob the group of its independent status and place it under the control of left-wing Representative Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), who has voted against funds for the Committee and who has declared that its work is of "no force or effect whatsoever."

Most such attacks are hinged to a cry that no concrete legislative results have issued from the Committee's work—the criterion by which "liberals" have chosen to judge investigative committees dealing with subversion. But, as a recent report of the Committee reveals, its work has produced legislative recommendations in no less than 31 separate categories, with a corresponding volume of law-making activity by the Congress. The Committee's study shows that bills were introduced in the House of Representatives embodying 80 recommendations made by the Committee.

Actual legislation enacted by Congress carried out some 35 of these Committee recommendations. Twenty-six bills, including Chairman Francis E. Walter's omnibus Internal Security Bill, HR 9937, are now pending in the 85th Congress. Executive agencies have put into effect policies, orders, and regulations relating to 13 recommendations by the Committee.

(In a statement to HUMAN EVENTS last week, touching on the various proposals to alter the Committee's role or stature in Congress, Chairman Walter said that, although he had once favored converting the Committee into an internal security subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, similar to the Senate arrangement, he is definitely against any change now. Walter added, with characteristic candor, that he does not believe the present House Judiciary Committee would conduct its investigations of communism "very diligently.")

Democratic Policy: The bankruptcy of the policy of the "liberal" Democratic leadership never appeared more sharply than in a recent utterance of Speaker Sam Rayburn—as conservatives in Congress, both Democratic and Republican, view it. In a speech delivered June 21 in Rockland, Maine, the "boss" of the Democratic party on Capitol Hill said that the United States "has fewer friends in the world today than we have ever had in our history. This is a tragic thing to contemplate. . . ." Yet Rayburn had the hardihood to add that 80 per cent of President Eisenhower's program was "simply renewing or expanding Democratic laws and proposals"—thus assuming Democratic responsibility for the dismal state of US affairs today.

California—Reuther for Governor? GOP legislators from California call attention to a hard-hitting speech delivered recently in the Golden State by actress Zasu Pitts, on behalf of gubernatorial candidate William F. Knowland. The text of Miss Pitts' speech, as it appears in the *Congressional Record* for July 3, 1958, includes the following remarks:

"There is a mighty interesting contest going on in California about who is going to be the next Governor, our own Senator Knowland or the Democratic candidate, Walter Reuther. I know that Reuther's running under another name, Pat Brown, I think it is, but Reuther is already the Governor of Michigan.

"He uses the name of Williams in that state, and I think that even one state under the control of Walter Reuther is too many. I have been told that the Reuthers have put up over $750,000 for this campaign.

"That's easy to do if you're using somebody else's money. It's as easy as falling off a log if you can dip it up in buckets like the Reuthers have."

Americans in Red Prisons: The protests over American personnel recently taken captive in East Germany, Armenia and Cuba have served to focus attention on a long-standing and much-neglected subject: the problem of hundreds of American soldiers imprisoned by the Red Chinese and never properly accounted for. The State Department, with its usual sleight-of-hand appeasement, has soft-pedalled this continuing scandal by diverting public attention to the matter of US civilians held by the Reds, now represented as a mere four people.

Meanwhile, however, the Administration has been quietly diminishing the number of imprisoned US soldiers, by the simple expedient of writing them off as dead.

During the Korean armistice, a list of captured personnel was submitted to the Reds, along with a demand that they be accounted for. Included were 944 Americans who were known, by various means, to be in Communist hands (rather than merely "missing in action"). The Communists' response was a defiant claim that they knew nothing of these Americans.

The Administration did nothing to force the return of the captives. Fresh information supposedly established that a few of the GI's were dead, but the great bulk of them remained unaccounted for. Defense Department officials inform HUMAN EVENTS that the US then "unilaterally reduced" the number to 450—because "we were getting nowhere" with the original list of 944—in an unsuccessful attempt to accommodate American honor to Red intransigence. The only other Administration action that succeeded in altering the status of our captive personnel was to mark time until a sufficient period had elapsed, and the "Missing Persons Act" could come into operation. This law, for purposes of administrative classification, gears the status of missing personnel to time intervals. Once enough months have intervened, the bureaucrats are permitted to make a "finding of death" for the missing soldiers; this is what has been taking place.

Thus, while the State Department talks of "four" captive Americans, the number that should be injected into public discussion of this matter is 944. Officials admit that they have no proof that these captives are in fact de-

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ceased. In any event, say incensed critics of appeasement, the Communists have accounted for none of them, and should be held to responsibility for them all, dead or alive.

● HUMAN EVENTS sources in New York report a stirring footnote to the controversy over the detention of US personnel abroad. At a July 4 celebration held at Sagamore Hill, the home of former President Theodore Roosevelt, local GOP luminaries and others assembled to hear what was scheduled to be a series of generalizations commemorating Independence Day. The gathering was electrified when master of ceremonies Leonard Hall asked Colonel Archibald Roosevelt, son of the former President, to say a few words. Roosevelt set a new tone for the meeting when he began: "This is a sad Fourth of July for me—but most of the recent Fourths have been sad ones." When Theodore Roosevelt was President, the speaker observed, an American citizen was safe wherever he went in the world. But today, he said, Communist tyrants are allowed to hold Americans prisoner with impunity.

Colonel Roosevelt also had sharp words to say in reference to the "Status of Forces" agreements, which surrender our personnel to our allies as well as to our enemies.

Roosevelt, say some who were present at the gathering, received by far the largest ovation of anyone who spoke at the meeting.

Federal Aid to Education: The Sputnik-triggered "National Defense Education Bill" (HR 13247) strikes conservatives on the Hill as a phony through and through. Aimed at adjusting Johnny to life in the space age and developing geniuses to beat the Communists to the moon, the bill offers boys and girls in the public schools various Federal financial inducements to learning, with emphasis on science, math and foreign languages. At the same time, it would put the children through a guidance, counseling and testing mill, productive not of genius but of mediocrity, conformity and "togetherness."

It has the estimated price tag of $827 million a year (for four years) on it. That, it is true, is not as expensive as the Federal aid to school construction and teachers' salaries measure, which would run the taxpayer some $1 billion the first year and $4 billion a year thereafter, and which received the backing of the "liberal" National Education Association. But the NEA would be glad to get the cheaper "National Defense Education Bill" (now reported out by committee) or any part of it. The last-named bill, in any event, is now before the House, and the object of agitated conservative attention.

The legislation would award National Defense Scholarships of $500 a year for four years to high school graduates selected by state commissions, plus $500 a year to any such students in need. It would provide Federal contributions to institutions of higher education with Federally approved student loan programs. It would authorize Federal payments to state educational agencies with Federally approved plans for laboratory remodeling and the acquisition of modern equipment and audio-visual materials employed in the teaching of science, math or foreign languages. In addition, it would provide Federal funds for "Language Institutes" and "Language Area Centers"; pay stipends, plus allowances for travel and dependents, to individuals taking advanced foreign language training provided they agree to teach afterwards; award some 5500 Federal fellowships; and make grants-in-aid to states with Federally approved plans for guidance, counseling and testing. In short, a Federal pattern of encroachment and control of local schooling.

Conservatives want to see HR 13247 voted down because (1) Federal controls would inevitably follow the financial aid, and (2) while with one hand it seems to encourage basic education, with the other hand it subsidizes the "progressive" educationists under the guise of guidance, counseling and testing—a still unproven "science," to say the least. (See the article, "Guided Minds: The Promise and the Threat," by Emily Cuyler Hammond, in HUMAN EVENTS *for June 9, 1958.)*

Economy: A number of economy-minded legislators, confronted with the perennial warnings that modern-day Government involves "inevitable" swelling of the Budget, point out numerous areas in which waste, and the means of curtailing it, are clearly in evidence, and where an end to red-tape delays can result in savings of billions of dollars for the taxpayer.

Such an instance is the budgetary reform plan proposed by the Hoover Commission, the principal feature of which would be to prevent Government agencies from building up huge backlogs of unexpended funds, which Congress cannot repossess for allocation in more deserving areas. This reform, which would effect savings estimated between $2 billion and $5 billion, is now being smothered in the Senate, after passage in the House by the overwhelming margin of 311 to 67. Now the bill, HR 8002, the victim of a procedural tangle, lies dormant in the Senate Appropriations Committee. Only vigorous protests from the electorate, say advocates of economy, can dislodge it before this session draws to a close.

States' Rights: HUMAN EVENTS sources in Texas report that a crucial states' rights controversy is brewing in that state which may soon reach the proportions of the famous "tidelands oil" dispute. The issue is whether to construct a costly hydroelectric power-producing dam in East Texas.

Under Texas law, power dam projects must be cleared through the State Board of Water Engineers. The Federal Government, however, has invoked what it terms "paramount rights"—and *is building the dam without permission of the state of Texas.* The power-producing aspect of the dam is widely opposed in the Lone Star State as uneconomical and wasteful.

In opposing this action of the Federal Government, Texas states' rights advocates point out the wording of the 1945 Rivers and Harbors Bill, which authorizes the construction of Federal dams. This bill states: " . . . it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to recognize the interests and rights of the states in determining the development of the watersheds within their borders and likewise their interests and rights in water utilization and control."

JOHN E. COOGAN, S.J., Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Detroit: "In our day of strange disloyalties, HUMAN EVENTS serves one purpose: so to interpret the news as to maintain America as 'one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.' "

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WHY THE KENNEDY-IVES BILL MUST BE DEFEATED

By James L. Wick

DURING THE PAST year and a half, the McClellan Labor Rackets committee—klieg lights, Jimmy Hoffa and all the rest—has created a widespread demand for legislation to curb labor-boss abuses. The lobbying efforts of the AFL-CIO, however, have succeeded in shaping the legislative end-product of this inquiry into a gigantic hoax. This measure—called the Kennedy-Ives bill—will do little to cure the evils so widely publicized by the Labor Committee; rather, it will do a great deal to weaken the one existing law which has partially succeeded in restraining the labor bosses—the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) has well named it "a sweetheart bill." Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) —it is generally agreed—has earned what he is seeking, namely, the support of Reuther, Meany & Co., indispensable for any candidate striving for the Democratic party's Presidential nomination.

The McClellan Committee hearings were principally an exposure of union abuses. The Kennedy-Ives bill is principally an attack on employers and a further tightening of the chains which the labor bosses have imposed on employees. This piece of "Alice-in-Wonderland" legislation—passed by the Senate and now pending in the House—may become law unless an aroused public immediately writes, wires or visits members of Congress, urging that the bill be defeated.

The Kennedy-Ives measure is not—as many newspapers have described it—an answer to the evils revealed by the McClellan Committee. Most of the areas of the labor problem indicated for reform by the Committee are dealt with by "phony" or ineffective reform proposals.

The three most important recommendations of the McClellan Committee were as follows: (1) to treat union funds as legal trusts and fiduciaries; (2) to permit the states to exercise jurisdiction in labor matters when the National Labor Relations Board does not assert jurisdiction; and (3) to insure secret ballots by union members on "vital union decisions" (such as changing union constitutions or by-laws, *etc.*). None of these proposals was included in the Kennedy-Ives bill.

Senate hearings chaired by pro-union Senator Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) disclosed corrupt practices and abuses only in employee-benefit plans involving some union control. Yet the Senate bill would call for regulation of *all* plans except the very smallest, although 92 per cent are employer-managed and no abuses whatsoever were discovered in these. Thus, the Kennedy-Ives measure has been aptly described as one which would amputate an arm to get rid of a hangnail. Other effects of the bill:

● It gives the right to vote in representation elections to economic strikers, who may have been permanently replaced. This is a repeal of Taft-Hartley and reverts to the Wagner Act, setting the clock back 20 years.

● *It narrows the definition of supervisors, who are exempted by Taft-Hartley from NLRB jurisdiction. Today if a supervisor joins a union, the employer can fire him. Kennedy-Ives would allow many of these supervisors, who are actually a part of management, to engage in union activities with impunity.*

● It would permit the building-trades unions to be recognized as exclusive bargaining agents when they do not represent a majority of the workers, thus weakening the basic protection of employees under Taft-Hartley. Employers and unions could legally agree that employees must join the union within seven days; the present law specifies 30 days. Congressional blessing will thus be given to a weakening of present limitations on compulsory unionism agreements.

● *It sets up elaborate reporting requirements, but the sanctions for failure to file or for making false reports are on the individual union officer and not on the unions as such. Under Taft-Hartley, a failure to file reports will deny the union the use of the NLRB processes and protection—for example, the union cannot ask for an election or file charges against the employer.*

● It will discourage employers from expressing themselves on labor matters by requiring them to report all expenditures to "influence or affect employees in the exercise of their rights guaranteed by [Taft-Hartley]." The effect of this provision will be that timid lawyers will advise their employer clients against expressing themselves in booklet material or house organs for fear that *all* their expenditures in those fields will be subject to union smear campaigns. This provision might also curb what is now a legitimate employer tactic—giving raises or the equivalent to employees—when an employer fears that an organizing campaign is to be started.

● *It outlaws organizational picketing which has extortion as its intent. Extortion is already a criminal act in every state in the union; therefore this provision of the bill implies sanction of organizational picketing to gain members. Under the doctrine of Federal pre-emption, the Supreme Court could say that this provision nullifies the laws existing in several states, and being proposed in the legislatures of others, outlawing organizational picketing.*

This legislation, disguised as a "labor reform," is in reality a long step backwards in the battle to curb the power of the labor bosses. For that reason, it is worse than no bill at all.

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

WILL NEW YORK'S MELTING POT BOIL OVER?

Racial Strife Increases in the Metropolis of the North

By ALICE N. FURLAUD

WHEN RUFUS BROWN, a 19-year-old Negro, is booked at a New York police precinct station for the "mugging" of Phyllis Jones, 30, white, no record is made of Brown's racial origin. Just as there are no dependable figures on the number of Negroes charged with crimes in New York City, so there is no reliable information on the racial backgrounds of the 1,021 children who, between February 7 and April 1 of this year, were expelled from New York's public schools for various degrees of incorrigibility. However, a recent quick and unofficial survey of groups of students at a special school for delinquents in Greenwich Village indicated that only about one of every four was white. If the people of New York are to solve the "Negro problem" or the "Puerto Rican problem," they will have to do it with little statistical knowledge of what these problems are.

Outsiders often raise their eyebrows at this approach to a major problem. The London *Economist* recently remarked: "About 75 per cent of the boys in the special schools are Negroes or Puerto Ricans, although a benevolent conspiracy on the part of the newspapers tends to soft-pedal the racial aspect of the city's troubles."

The pro-integration pressure groups have decided, with little apparent dissent on the part of most New Yorkers, that the differences between Negroes and Puerto Ricans on the one hand and white citizens on the other are not attributable to race but to social or educational backgrounds. From this premise the pressure groups have succeeded in convincing civic and political leaders and the press that, inasmuch as race is irrelevant and perhaps even nonexistent, it shouldn't be mentioned at all.

Of course this theory is not consistently applied. Thus the Police Commissioner, who keeps no record of the number of Negro criminals, does record the number of Negro policemen and insists that there are too few of them. The newspapers will mention the race of a colored man who receives an honorary degree at Columbia, but the race of a Negro who assaults a school principal with a baseball bat is revealed to the public only if the chap gets his picture in the newspapers.

Enforcement officials may belittle the existence of a race problem in New York, but informed Negroes nourish no such illusion. Thus Ebony, *the leading Negro magazine, recently printed a fighting editorial in which it declared that "the percentage of Negro offenses has grown to such alarming proportions that a growing number of people are asking 'What is the Negro doing about Negroes?'" The magazine urged its readers to police their own race because the law-abiding, self-respecting Negro "can ill afford to sit idly by while a few irresponsible members of his race destroy the rights that have taken years to obtain."*

Although the Police Department gives no statistics on the racial composition of the police blotter, it does indicate in various ways that it is not unaware of what is going on. White policemen are quietly advised to use discretion when arresting a Negro because questions may be asked and the issue of "civil rights" raised. And despite the clamor from some quarters for more liberal use of the nightstick, the department is taking steps to alert its men to some of the deeper aspects of the supposedly nonexistent race problem.

For example, policemen, veterans and rookies alike, are offered courses in "human relations," at the Police Academy. Many policemen are taking Spanish lessons when off duty. The Baruch School of Business offers a series of courses called "Police Science Approach." Many cops take the course on their own time and the enrollment at Baruch is many times larger than it was when the course was started three years ago. Some of the subjects are Human Relations, Problems of Minority Groups (Analysis of Prejudice, Discrimination), Psychology (Prejudice), Urban Sociology, *etc.* The officer on duty in a difficult neighborhood is expected to carry this wisdom with him on his beat. He analyzes situations in the Negro and Puerto Rican sections carefully. For example, he learns to make allowances for the Puerto Rican tendency to assemble in large groups at a moment's notice and to depend, day and night, on continuous, very loud Spanish music.

ALL THIS SUGGESTS that much can be learned about New York's racial situation just by living there. In contrast to other Northern American cities, where riots and disorders have followed the influx of Negroes from the South, New York has taken the situation with relative calm. After all, New York has functioned as a melting pot for immigrant minorities for a long time; it is not easily panicked by the arrival of a new group. Furthermore, New Yorkers, at any rate those in Manhattan and Brooklyn, are largely transients, with their real roots and interests in other parts of the country. In a city where millions hardly

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know what their neighbors look like, it is less easy than it is elsewhere to frighten people at the prospect that the neighborhood may be ruined. Of course, in Queens and Richmond, boroughs which more nearly resemble the middle-class residential areas found elsewhere, the reaction to the invasion of Negroes is less serene.

Whatever the state of public opinion on the race issue, "integration" is apparently here to stay in New York City. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League and other bodies supporting integration are actively pressing upon politicians the need to end all types of segregation "with all deliberate speed." Integration is the policy of the City itself, written firmly into the statutes. In 1956 Mayor Wagner promised to "move forward on all fronts in the battle against racial and religious discrimination and violation of civil rights." The City Council has set up a Commission on Intergroup Relations, an official governmental agency which, together with other public and private anti-discrimination bodies, is empowered to carry out this policy.

A visit to the headquarters of COIR will show that its personnel are sold on the purposes for which the agency was created. One spokesman declared that "moderation is for the birds." He added that pro-integration "extremists" have done more to solve the problem than have the moderates, whom this official regards as opponents of integration who hide their real feelings under a cloak of sweet reasonableness. *Far from fearing trouble, this spokesman emphatically stated that the US is extremely fortunate that the Negroes, so long oppressed, are willing to use peaceful means to gain their long-delayed rights.* Lapsing into the sociological jargon now current in these circles, he added that New Yorkers are obsessed by a "guilt complex" about Negroes. The white man who, while friendly to Negroes in the mass and at a distance, would move away from an integrated area so that his teen-age daughters need not attend school with colored boys, was described as suffering from the typical New York "psychosis" about race.

PSYCHOSIS OR NOT, New Yorkers are genuinely alarmed by the increasing boldness and savagery of the gangs of "shook up" adolescents which are popularly associated with the increase in racial minority groups. Despite the play, "The West Side Story," which is based on a rumble between a "Caucasian" gang and a gang of Puerto Ricans, interracial clashes are infrequent in the gang set-up. Most of the gangs are as fully integrated as the United States Supreme Court could ask; they usually follow the racial patterns of their neighborhoods. Inevitably their violent activities spill over into the schools, which many of them reluctantly and unprofitably attend.

For lack of really accurate information, the New York Department of Education has released figures on the racial origins of children in the elementary and junior high schools, based on "teacher opinion"—because "in no case is a pupil asked any question about his race or national origin." These figures were gathered to help the school board carry out its announced intention of integrating as many schools as possible; naturally the authorities needed some guidance as to which schools were most in need of integration. The figures show that in the Borough of Manhattan 35.2 per cent of the children are Negroes, 33.7 per cent Puerto Ricans and 31.1 per cent "other" —"other" being white with a tiny admixture of Orientals. In Brooklyn the estimated percentages are: Negro 19.9 per cent, Puerto Rican 12.1 per cent, "other" 68 per cent. Proceeding to Richmond and Queens, the problem becomes almost negligible, because in Queens 86 per cent of the school children covered were "other," while in Richmond this classification rose to 91.4 per cent.

These figures, however, are subject to change without notice; the Board of Education estimates that, in the year before the "teacher opinion" figures were compiled, 10,000 additional Negroes and 10,000 new Puerto Ricans had been added to the elementary and junior high schools of the city, while at the same time 20,000 white children (doubtless of "psychotic" parents) had moved out. This shift is presumably still in progress.

The wave of violence which has swept over some of the "difficult" schools created a widespread demand for more police protection for the helpless pupils and teachers. This demand reached fever heat after the suicide of Dr. George Goldfarb, principal of Brooklyn's John Marshall Junior High School, where a series of shocking crimes—including the rape of a 13-year-old white girl by a Negro—had occurred. The demand for a policeman in every school originated with a Kings County grand jury which was conducting an investigation of violence in the schools. Judge Samuel Liebowitz, who had ordered the investigation, took this view although it would involve the assignment of at least 846 policemen to this duty alone, the majority of them to schools which have no record of violence or invasion by rapists and gangs. Judge Liebowitz's critics have charged that his grand jury made threats to Principal Goldfarb which drove him to suicide, but members of the grand jury have denied that any threats were made. It seems quite possible that a sensitive man, torn between determination to protect the reputation of the school system and a desire to tell all the facts to the grand jury, might become sufficiently desperate to end his life.

In connection with the grand jury proposal, it is noteworthy that, since 1956, there has been an agreement between the Board of Education and the Police Department, under which the police may be called into a school on request of the principal. A policeman is never on duty inside a school, only outside—the idea being that hoodlums coming from the outside are as much of a hazard as any disorders likely to break out inside.

Despite efforts to play down the subject, most

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authorities unofficially agree that the current policy of the Board of Education, in sending increasing numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children to schools formerly attended almost exclusively by white students, has created new disciplinary and scholastic difficulties for already over-burdened teachers and principals. The problem is not that white students often clash with their Negro classmates as in Little Rock, but that Negroes are on the whole behind the white pupils in their grades. Although exceptional Negro students can make the jump and catch up, the average Negro child cannot. He soon gives up trying, loses interest and becomes a frustrated disciplinary thorn in the side of his teachers.

Nevertheless, the school authorities, constantly under the lash of the NAACP, *et al.*, are officially committed to an ever-expanding integration of the schools, although the Board of Education is far from unanimous as to how to bring this about. The Board is now relying primarily on "rezoning," so that schools near the borders between Negro, white and Puerto Rican neighborhoods will receive a more or less evenly distributed mixture. The Board also resorts to "permissive zoning," by which is meant the encouragement of Negro students in heavily Negro areas to travel long distances by bus to less crowded white schools in other zones. Up to now, however, this "bussing"—which may soon become a standard word in the educator's bright lexicon—is described as a means of relieving congestion, and only incidentally as a means to promote integration.

Many Negro leaders do not see it that way. They insist that, if 15 per cent of the population of New York City is colored, then 15 per cent of every class in every school in town must be colored. If this has to be accomplished by bussing, it might be good for General Motors, which provides nearly all the city's buses, but not necessarily for a country which needs the best education it can get.

Matthew J. Shevlin, chairman of the Education Committee of the Queens Chamber of Commerce, has pointed out that the Supreme Court has declared "pupil assignment," by means of which some Southern communities had endeavored to accomplish segregation by "bussing," unconstitutional. Chairman Shevlin couldn't understand why New York's effort to promote integration by the same device wasn't also unconstitutional. This logical point appears to have fallen into an abyss as far as New York's educational policies are concerned.

Some intelligent opposition to the transportation of Negro children from one end of the city to the other has been voiced by Negroes. For example, Mrs. Ruth Handy, sister-in-law of the late song writer, W. C. Handy, taught in the Harlem schools for 22 years and is now a community coordinator in the racially explosive Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Mrs. Handy said recently: "Taking 200 colored kids out of one school and putting them in another is not integrating. Integration is a thing of the spirit. The physical transportation of children doesn't prove anything. What does it serve to take children out of the neighborhoods where they live?"

Almost as explosive as the popular reaction to the racial problem in the schools is the furor created in certain areas by the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law, which undertakes to enforce integration in New York's apartment houses and other rented property. The city's policy on integration in housing has been established by a law which went into effect April 1, and which forbids owners to refuse to rent or sell property to a man because of "race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry." A Negro who is convinced that a property owner has turned him down because of his color may take his complaint to the Commission, which, if it finds evidence of "discriminatory practices," refers the case to a "fair housing panel," designated by the Mayor. The panel can then direct the City to sue the offending landlord in the State Supreme Court. On March 31, the day before the law went into effect, the chairman of the Commission on Intergroup Relations announced that the Commission would ask for the maximum penalty of a year in jail for landlords who deliberately violate the law.

This extraordinary law was passed only after a bitter battle, led by the Real Estate Board of New York, known to "liberals" as "the real estate lobby." Their case was based on the "right of an owner of private property to rent it to whomever he pleases, a right as old as the common law." Leading the fight to put Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs on the books were clergymen, "liberal" leaders, the NAACP, the Communists and a body called the Commission on Housing and Race, which is bankrolled by the Ford Foundation. Both sides used extensive advertising in the newspapers, including one ad headed, "YOU CAN OUTLAW HATE IN HOUSING." The Real Estate Board's appeal to Mayor Wagner to leave the matter to a popular referendum was, of course, rejected. The constitutionality of a law compelling an owner to take actions which he believes will damage his property will certainly be challenged.

ALTHOUGH COIR is aware of no plan to place a subsidized colored family in every block, as the NAACP has been charged with undertaking in Philadelphia, unscrupulous real estate operators have already begun to take speculative advantage of the tendency of neighborhoods to panic when Negroes begin to move in. A typical practice among some Negro realtors, and some white ones as well, is to buy a house through a white "front" and then to sell it to a respectable, law-abiding Negro family willing to pay a high price to get into a nice neighborhood. The next step is to distribute leaflets throughout the district—often delivered, ironically enough, by a colored boy—with a message like "YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD IS CHANGING!" Panic results; the real estate man snaps up houses from demoralized whites at a discount and sells them to Negroes at exorbitant prices. Second, third, fourth and even fifth mortgages follow and, when the new owner cannot continue his payments, he turns his home into a boarding house,

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stuffs the rooms full, and another neighborhood is down the drain. That, at any rate, is the way the real estate industry views it.

Landlords who have rented to Negro families experience terrific pressure from their white tenants to evict the Negroes. While this feeling is mild compared to the violent battles in Chicago, Detroit and even Philadelphia, the windows of shops recently acquired by Negroes have been smashed.

Perhaps the most conspicuous resistance has come from some of the more prominent integrationists; although several "liberal" bank officials have been at the forefront of the fight for the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law, it is noticeable that their banks are not investing in New York City mortgages as liberally as they used to. More and more mortgage money is going outside New York where the risks are considered better. The recent chartering by the State of the Mortgage Facilities Corporation, which is authorized to make loans in distressed areas, is a step that would be unnecessary if the banks had been willing to do the job.

As might be expected, New York's poison is meat for the Southern newspapers. The Montgomery, Alabama, Advertiser *recently complained of a certain smugness among New York intellectuals on the race issue in these terms: "One could look on this dreadful condition in the New York schools and feel solicitude if only the apologists would not continue to mobilize for onslaughts against the Southern white devil and would candidly admit that, knuckle for knuckle, stab for stab, rape for rape, one New York school has generated more violence than all the Southern schools together."*

(The head of the United Press in Atlanta, Alfred G. Kuettner, who spent a week in New York doing a thorough reporting job on the race problem, concluded that Negro and Puerto Rican children cause a "huge percentage of the crime and violence" but that "mixing of the races is not the basic cause." He reported the remark of one school principal who said "it is a sociological truth that until a person finds his place in society, he is rebellious.")

THE NEW YORK press continues to shake a smug and priggish finger at Southern schools, and still manages to extract some hopped-up news value from events in Little Rock. "Little Rock: More Tension than Ever" and "The Silent Fear in Little Rock" were the titles of two consecutive feature articles in recent issues of *The New York Times* Sunday Magazine. On the other hand, the *Times*' Harrison Salisbury did a comprehensive and realistic job on the juvenile gangs of New York, racial aspects and all. The Lincoln School, which need only to look out the window to find a New York Negro boy or girl in need of a scholarship, chose to extend a more spectacular helping hand to Minnijean Brown, the girl who had been expelled from Central High School in Little Rock, reputedly for "talking back to a white girl."

As is now fairly well understood, the crusade for integration is carried on most passionately by some high-toned "liberals" who have no intention of practicing what they preach. To paraphrase the old Negro spiritual, "Everybody talk about integrating ain't goin' to integrate." The class issue is not lost on many New Yorkers who cannot afford private schools for their children, or a hegira to some fancier part of the city. They note that the fashionable and expensive private schools, which include few if any Negroes, are stuffed with the children of prominent citizens who are leaders in the effort to impose the "privilege of integration" on lower income groups. Similarly with the housing restrictions. As one real estate man put it, "Why don't these rich 'liberals' like Mrs. Roosevelt and Senator Lehman buy some houses and rent them to colored people, instead of working to force those of us who make our living this way to rent our property to people who we feel will destroy its value?"

The integrationists-in-a-hurry, along with hundreds of City officials who must push the prevailing policy if only to justify their jobs, and the organized pressure groups, seem to arouse more tension than they ease. On their side is the fact that Harlem's slums and public housing projects cannot much longer contain the horde of Negroes and Puerto Ricans who pour into New York every day by train, plane and bus. Level-headed New Yorkers may yet come up with the formula to reconcile the right of equal opportunity with property rights and the maintenance of educational standards. Perhaps eventually the new elements that are being tossed into the melting pot can be stirred in more slowly, so that the temperature can be maintained evenly throughout. But that isn't the way things are going now.

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